

## JOHNSON SETS STUDY PANELS ON NAC ACTION

I-Labs suffer bomb scare;  
Institute acts in court

By Robert Elkin

The effects of the November Actions were still being felt Saturday as President Howard Johnson announced the formation of two special panels to examine offenses that may have occurred against the Institute or individual members of the MIT community during the week.

The first panel, chaired by Prof. Hartley Rogers of Mathematics, will "receive and review complaints which may be in violation of accepted standards of behavior." According to Rogers, the panel will consider and identify the incidents that trouble the community and recommend which actions should be given further consideration. It will not be a fact-finding panel and it is interested not in particular individuals but in the acts themselves.

The panel will not act unless it is asked to act by an individual registering a complaint with the panel. It will receive complaints from all sides.

### Panel make-up

The first special panel is composed of six faculty members and six others representative of the MIT community. They are: Professors Rogers, Stanley Backer of Mechanical Engineering, Everett E. Hagen of Political Science, Thomas B. King of Metallurgy, Robert J. Kolenkow of Physics, and Salvador E. Luria of Biology; David C. Driscoll, Assistant Director of the Division of Sponsored Research; graduate students David N. Caplan and Eben T. Walker; Jeffrey E. Hankoff '70 and William S. Stroud '70; and Vera Kistiakowsky, Senior Research Scientist in the Department of Physics.

The second special panel, chaired by Prof. Merton C. Flemings, will review complaints involving violations of the law and make recommendations concerning the initiation of legal action by MIT against individuals committing illegal acts. As will the Rogers panel, this group will focus on the acts and not the individuals involved. It will consider complaints against both members of the MIT community and outsiders.

Flemings considers the panel's major function that of being a source of advice to President Johnson aside from the lawyers. He believes that lawyers can find many violations of the law if they desire. The panel will discuss and evaluate the issues on a non-legal basis.

### Same Pattern

Representation on the 6 member second panel reflects the same proportional composition as the Rogers panel. The members are: Professors Flemings, Eugene Goodheart, Humanities, Paul W. MacAvoy, Management, Richard E. Marshall of the I-Labs, graduate student James W. Pugh, and Katherine Swartz '72.

### Legal Action

Lawyers representing MIT filed a petition of intent last Wednesday to vacate the preliminary (Please turn to page 3)

# Capital sees a record crowd



Photo by Cynthia O'Connell

Marchers stretch from the White House perimeter to the Capitol.

## 400,000 GATHER TO PROTEST WAR

About 400,000 people, most of them young and almost all of them non-violent, participated in the largest anti-war demonstration in American history in Washington this weekend.

Planned activities included a symbolic March Against Death, in which some 40,000 people paraded single-file from Arlington Cemetery to the Capitol, each carrying the name of a serviceman killed or a village destroyed in the Vietnam war. The other major activity was a mass march Saturday from the Capitol to the Washington Monument grounds where a rally was held.

The sponsoring group was the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam ("New Mobe"), an organizing body spawned from various pacifist organizations.

The time limits on the New Mobe's permit for the Saturday

The incidents of violence involved only a small fraction of the demonstrators in town, even as spectators, and were effectively unrelated to the major protest activities.

Administration officials who had previously tried to discourage or play down the Mobe's activities were quick to brand the weekend's activities as violent. Attorney General John N. Mitchell said in a Sunday press release that most of the blame for the weekend's violence rests with the New Mobe.

He cited the Mobe's permitting David Dellinger and Miss Carol Brightman to encourage people from the speakers' platform to follow them to a demonstration at the Justice Department immediately after the Saturday rally, and he alleged that the Mobe had failed to discourage the presence and activities of the extremists.

Other high government officials, principally in the Congress, took the opposite view, commending the New Mobe for its organization of an overall peaceful demonstration.

New Mobe officials took exception to Mitchell's allegations, noting that they had repeatedly discouraged extremist activities. As for the allegedly inflammatory speeches at the rally, Mobe organizers explained that it was their policy that once they had given Dellinger and Miss Brightman permission to speak, they had no right to specify what the two could say.

Pres. Nixon carefully ignored the protest activities, cloistering himself inside the White House watching a televised football game during the march and rally Saturday. Administration spokesmen reiterated their contention that protest activities would not affect US foreign policy.

Violent confrontations between extremist protesters and police occurred Friday night near the South Vietnamese Embassy, late Saturday afternoon at the Justice Department (with scattered incidents in the downtown area continuing into the night), and Sunday in the Georgetown section. About 150 were arrested over the weekend.

Police relied on tear gas, rather than a charging line in direct contact with the demonstrators to disperse the violent crowds. There were no serious injuries at any of the confrontations, and in no case did the police take action until after the demonstrators had been warned.

## Canvassing is focus of local Moratorium

By Lee Giguere

Activities organized in the Boston community as part of the November Moratorium included both canvassing and community improvement projects.

The emphasis Thursday, Nov. 13, was on canvassing working class areas. The prime objectives of the canvassers were to "get people to read the material", and "if people are opposed to Nixon's plan, to get them to do something about it."

### Turn-out moderate

Canvassing activities began at 9 am and ran through most of the day. According to Jeff Rosen of the Massachusetts Moratorium Committee, the turn-out was moderate, but the day's activities went well. He estimated that a total of 500 people had participated.

### MIT participation light

Only about 20 MIT students participated in Thursday's can-

vassing. The MIT Moratorium Committee had made preparations to provide about 100 canvassers with materials. Although publicity during the week had been light, an attempt was made Thursday morning to arouse more interest by leafletting in the dorms.

### Community improvement

Friday's community projects consisted of improvement work in some of Boston's underprivileged areas. About 35 students spent the morning painting in the Elma Lewis School of Fine Arts in Roxbury. Another 100 students cleaned up and leafletted in the Orchard Park Public Housing Project. A third group worked for the South End Tenants' Council clearing out buildings. The purpose of these activities was to emphasize the need of funds for domestic programs.

Additional coverage of the weekend's protest activities in Washington will be found beginning on page No. 5.

march allowed only about 70,000 to follow the route along Pennsylvania Ave. to 15th St., and then to the Monument. The other participants walked down the Mall.

The weekend's activities attracted a number of violence-prone extremist groups, among them the Weathermen, Crazies, Mad Dogs, and some too new of obscure to recognize. Looking for trouble, and equipped for it with their helmets and gas masks, the extremists were involved in incidents of violence on several occasions. Attempts by the New Mobe and its marshalls to discourage the radicals were in vain.

## Oct. 3 panel submits report

By Ed Markowitz

The Baddour Commission formed last month to "collect and assess" facts related to the October 3 demonstration before the MIT Corporation, submitted its final report to Dean for Student Affairs Daniel Nyhart last week amidst NAC preparations for the November Action against MIT.

Professor Raymond Baddour, Department of Chemical Engineering, presided over the six man commission. In a letter dated Oct. 14, 1969, Dean Nyhart charged the Commission with the following: "The events outside the meeting of the Corporation on Friday, October 3, at the fourth floor of the Sloan building are of concern to the entire MIT community. I am asking a group of faculty, students, and staff, composed mostly of observers on the scene, to collect and assess the facts and to make a written report of those facts to me along with any recommendations they should choose to include..."

The Commission collected information primarily by interviewing individuals directly involved by the events. They spoke to representatives of RL-SDS, SACC, the General Assembly, and the MIT administration. However, the Commission could not reach everyone involved in the incident because of a severe time constraint. The members of the Commission felt that further investigation would not have led to substantive additions or changes in their report.

### Lack of Communication

The first 16 pages of the report contain a description of both the events leading up to the march and the march itself. The Commission's analysis of the confrontation follows this straight-forward narration. The most general conclusion the Commission reached was that "there was an apparent lack of communication among students and administration preceding the Corporation meeting."

Under the heading "the broader concern" the basis for policies of the Institute concerning "disruption" were listed as:

1. The intention of certain groups to hamstring, if not destroy MIT.
2. The fact that the "issues" raised by these groups are only in part genuine.
3. The groups are not to be trusted - MIT should always be prepared for the worst.
4. Time is on the side of the Institute.

Under this same heading, the dissident groups were listed as having acted under the following assumptions:

1. Morally their grounds are so correct that any impediment to the achievement of their goals is violent and immoral. Any action taken to achieve their goals is justified.
2. MIT is the puppet of external forces which are committed to the frustration of the achievement of the goals.

### Oppenheimer Symposium

On Friday at 2:30 pm in the Sala there will be a symposium about the issues raised in the play *In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer*. Members of the cast now playing at the Colonial Theater will be there as well as some of the principals in the actual case. This includes Profs. Zacharias, Weisskopf, Valley, and Hill.

There will also be a special block of tickets for MIT students for the Thursday night performance. They will be sold for only \$2 apiece in the TCA office, x 4886.

# IFC leadership censured for November resolution

The Interfraternity Conference censured George Katsiakis '70, Ken Lord '71, Travis Jackson '71, and Ed Chalfie '70 last Thursday after a disagreement over the IFC Executive Committee's endorsement of the NAC action in early November. The resolution said that the men were censured for "using their offices in the IFC to weight their own personal opinion and inferring the IFC's support of the NAC without any attempt to ascertain the opinion of the 1200 members of the IFC or their duly elected representa-

tives." 27 representatives voted for the resolution, 10 opposed it, and five members abstained. Bob Kassouf '71, who proposed the motion, said the purpose of the resolution was not political. Its intent was to keep individuals from expressing personal opinions in the name of the IFC. Chalfie stated that the letter published in *Thursday* by members of the IFC Executive Committee was meant solely as an expression of the feelings of that body.

# Baddour group's report to 'let the facts speak'

(Continued from page 1)

3. MIT is not to be trusted.  
4. Time is on the side of the dissidents.  
The commission then stated that "Actions based upon these assumptions can produce only a collision course." In the first of two summaries, the commission stated that:

"Relaxation of these assumptions, and modification of the actions on which they are based will not be easy. We hope, however, that the analysis of this event will be helpful in developing a broader understanding by the entire MIT community of the nature and severity of the problems which we all face. Such an understanding should provide the basis for those changes which clearly need to be made."

Besides this general statement, the report contained several more specific observations. In the opinion of the Commission, Professor Louis Kampf's speech was "highly manipulative and inflammatory." Furthermore, the report states, "the march from 77 Mass. Ave. to the Sloan

School did heighten the enthusiasm of the group." Once the marchers reached the Sloan School "attempts of the authorities to keep the Corporation meeting closed...contributed to the heightening of tension." Finally, in the Commission opinion, the presence of Robin Hahnel (a Harvard graduate student named in the Nov. 3 restraining order) was "a deliberate effort to encourage the group to enter the meeting forcibly."

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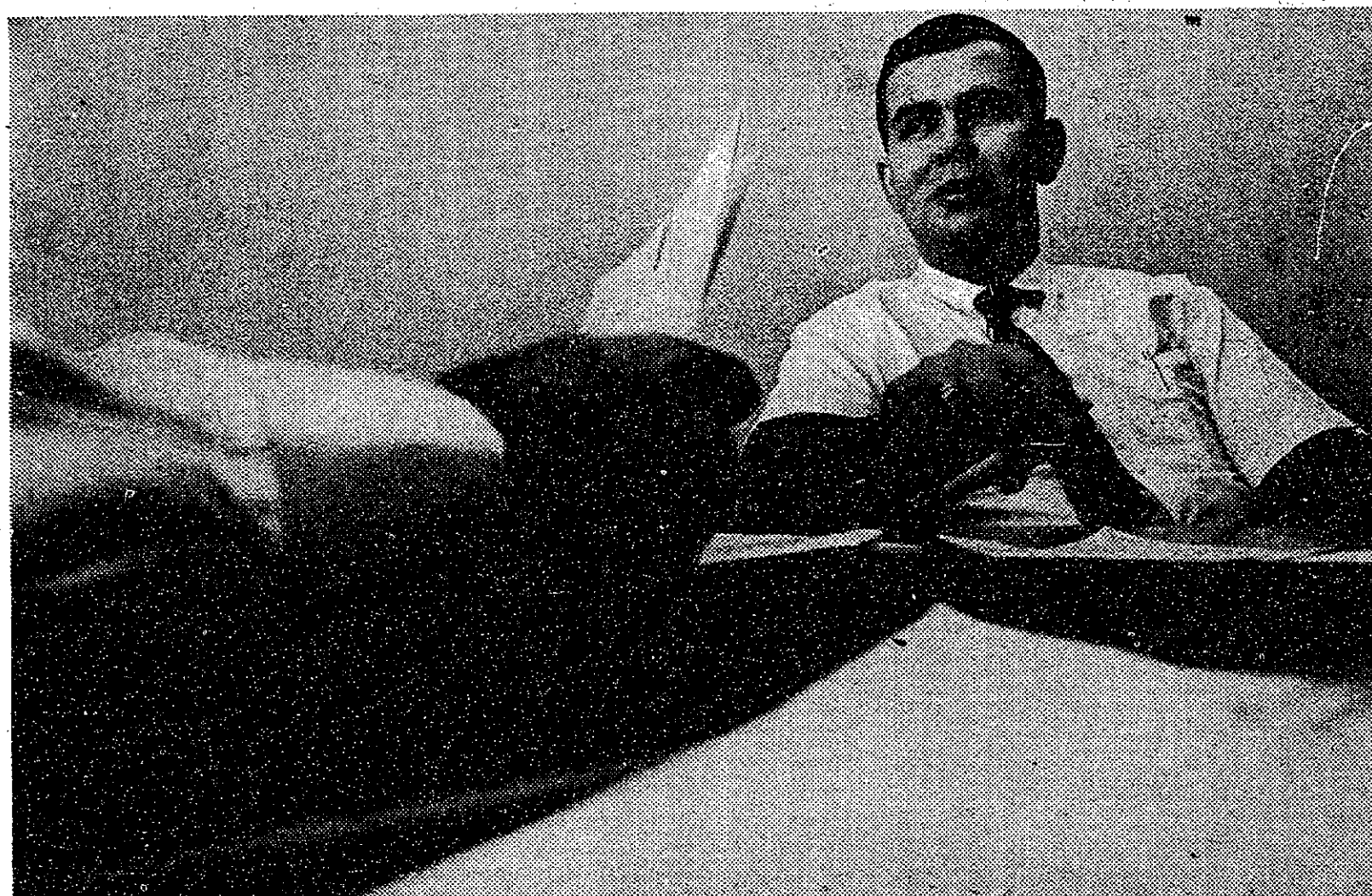
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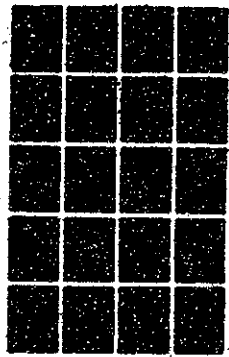


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## I-Labs suffer bomb scare

(Continued from page 1)

nary injunction with the Superior Court of Middlesex County. This is the first step in the process of discontinuing the effects of the court order. They also presented the Court with a preliminary report of the events of the week of November 3 as required by the original temporary restraining order. President Johnson stated that the report was open-ended with few specific details included. This will give the Institute much more flexibility in future actions. A copy of the report will not be made public.

### Injunction not served on all

Johnson's office reported on November 11 that the temporary restraining order issued on November 3 became a preliminary restraining injunction after the hearing before the Court on November 7. The statement, however, stated that the temporary restraining order still re-

mained in effect for those respondents who had not been served with the injunction. Johnson reported Friday that several respondents had not yet been served because they could not be found by the Sheriff's office which handles the serving of process.

A check with the Middlesex County Superior Court Clerk's office revealed the following: The temporary restraining order, issued on November 3 and returnable on November 7, was not served on six respondents (Robin Hahnel, George Katsiaticas, Phillip Raup, J. Michael O'Connor, Jeffrey Mermelstein, and Steven Soldz). A preliminary injunction was issued on November 7 returnable on November 12. The Sheriff's office was still unable to serve these people with the injunction. A new order was thus issued last Wednesday returnable tomorrow.

row.

### FAG organizes

The Faculty Advisory Group, originally set up to advise Johnson during the November Actions, has established an organizing committee to encourage and coordinate a more complete discussion of the Report of the Review Panel on the Special Laboratories [Pounds Report]. They will especially consider the report in relation to the broad question of the appropriateness of MIRV research at MIT. It will attempt to provide an effective mechanism for discussion among faculty, students, and staff.

### I-Lab bomb scare

I-Labs 5 and 6 were closed for about 1 1/2 hours last Wednesday afternoon, Nov. 12, when an anonymous caller telephoned bomb threats to the Campus Patrol.

The calls were received by the Campus Patrol at about 12:45 pm. The caller said that bombs would explode at the labs "within an hour".

The labs were emptied within five minutes, forcing approximately 175 workers at IL-5, where MIRV is being developed, and some 300 workers at IL-6 to leave the area until 2 pm when the Cambridge Fire Department declared the buildings safe.

IL-6 houses a wide variety of projects, including research in basic inertial guidance theory and systems. This work is sponsored by the Air Force. In addition, there are groups working on Air Traffic Control and Helicopter Stabilization at IL-6.

Bernard Feldman, executive officer of the labs, said that the last such scare at the labs happened about four years ago, and that this one was relatively routine.

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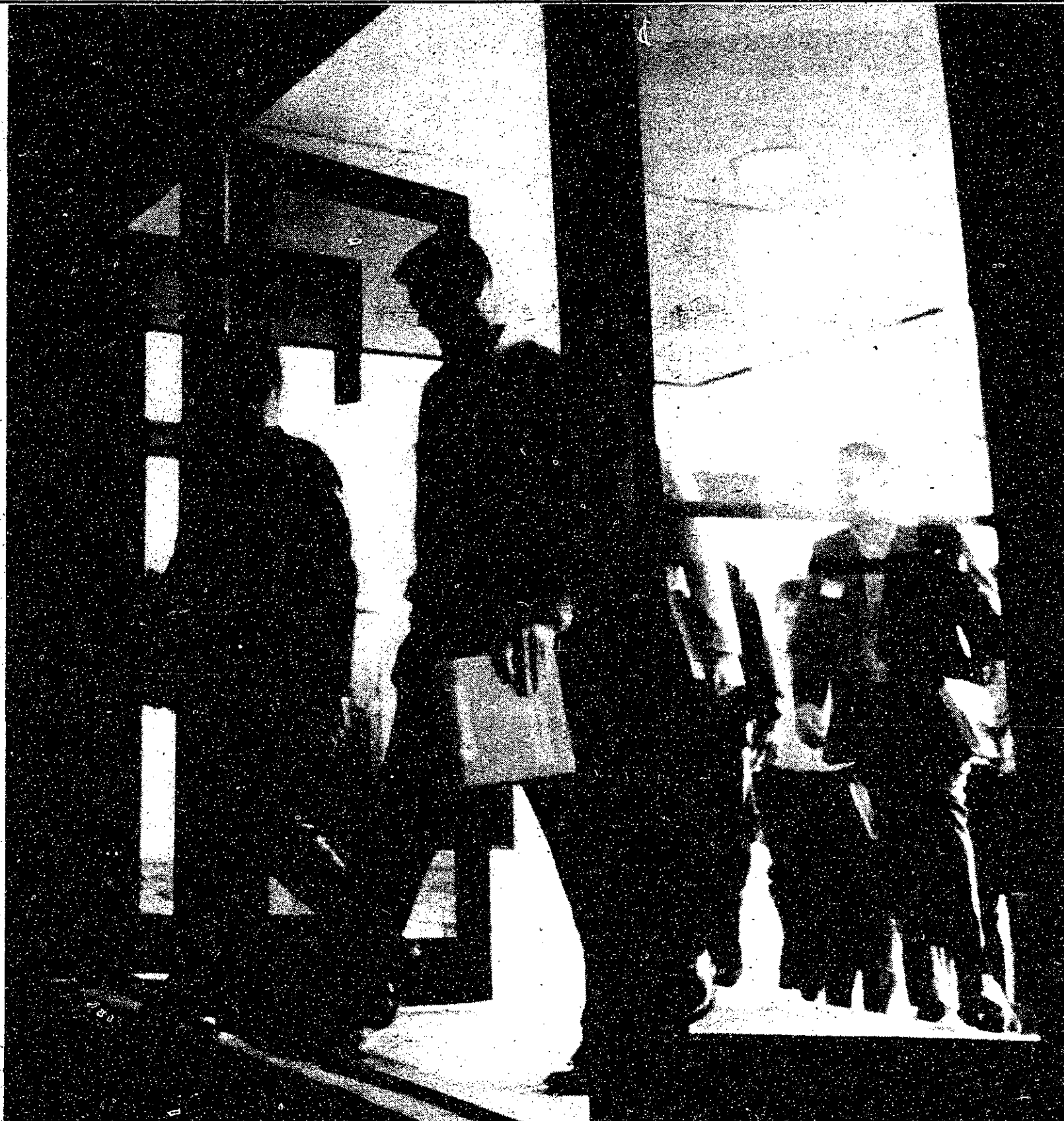
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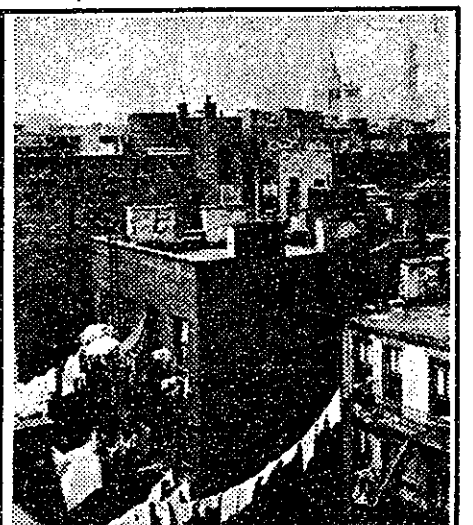


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# Common sense on MIRV

There has been a lot of talk recently about ending MIT's contract to build the guidance for the Poseidon MIRV. Unfortunately, most of the public discussion has consisted of one side saying "stop MIRV stop MIRV stop MIRV..." and the other side saying "contract commitments contract commitments contract commitments..." We would like to see more discussion of two basic questions: First, what will the benefits be from a unilateral or negotiated termination of this contract? Second, what will be the costs?

In discussing the benefits, we must ask whether our stopping this project at this time will affect deployment. President Richard Nixon has announced his intention of continuing MIRV tests during the SALT talks, thus making it inconceivable that the Russians will agree not to develop and deploy their own MIRV. If we are to act, we must act soon.

Let us consider the concrete results of abro-

gating the contract. If we stop work, will this indeed slow or stop testing and deployment? If we cannot affect deployment, the substantial costs we face may not be worth it. We must also consider the possible impact on other universities and defense contractors - will it be as substantial and positive as some claim, or will it be negligible and/or counterproductive?

We must also consider the costs to this institution. If we abrogate this contract, will the government withhold funds for future urban research? Will other research fields be hit as well? Will the key personnel in the labs leave to form their own company? Will the labs be so crippled that conversion is impossible? Will this action prove so intolerable to other faculty members that they will resign and go elsewhere?

These are real questions, and questions which must be confronted. There is not much time.

## Pass the buck

The report submitted by the panel headed by Prof. Raymond Baddour which investigated the activities surrounding the October 3 Corporation meeting has evidently chosen to pass the discipline buck back to the Dean's office. It is ironic that they choose to do so, since this panel was originally conceived to circumvent the old system in which the Dean for Student Affairs was plaintiff, judge, jury, and prosecuting attorney.

We are more distressed, however, by the cynical attitudes which the Baddour group reports to have discerned in the way in which the Institute has

handled "disruptions". It reports that the Institute assumes that "The issues raised by these groups are only in part genuine issues; if they were resolved, other 'issues' would arise to take their place." The panel also reports that the Institute believes that "the groups are not to be trusted, and MIT must always be prepared for the worst."

We hope that the Baddour group has misinterpreted Institute policy or that the views held in private by Institute officials will begin to coincide with the willingness to address issues which they proclaim so loudly in public.

# Letters to The Tech

## In Defense of Pool

To the Editor:

As former students of Professor Ithiel Pool, we feel that our association - in various capacities - with Dr. Pool's research projects benefited our education greatly. We believe strongly in Dr. Pool's personal and professional integrity and that such social science research projects as the Com Com Project are legitimate in a university setting.

Tom W. Carroll, Ph.D. 1969

Paul Hiniker, Ph.D. 1966

Gayle Durham Hollander, Ph.D. 1969

Sandra Kenyon, Ph.D. in progress

John Kramer, Ph.D. 1969

Alan Liu, Ph.D. 1968

Samuel Popkin, Ph.D. 1968

Rosemarie Rogers, Ph.D. 1967

Leslie L. Roos, Ph.D. 1968

John Steinbruner, Ph.D. 1968

Marvin Zonis, Ph.D. 1968

## Counterproductive?

To the Editor:

I recognize the important contribution made by SACC in bringing the issue of war-related research into open discussion on this campus. Consequently, I was all the more grieved last Thursday to see SACC embracing the tactics of the NAC - the Vietcong flag, the Ho Chi Minh chant, and all the rest of the tiresome liturgy. To me, these acts are not only abhorrent but senseless. When opposition to the war and to military research become identified with marching behind the Vietcong flag, who benefits? Only those who seek to discredit the anti-war movement.

Leo Sartori  
Department of Physics

## Politicizing MIT

To the Editor:

Prof. Weisenbaum in his letter

to the Tech of Oct. 17 refers to my reminder to the faculty that federal and local statutes governing tax exempt organizations prescribe political activity by such organizations. Since my raising of a point of law is equated with "moral bankruptcy" I am obliged to reply to Prof. Weisenbaum.

He says that "speaking up of the institute (on a political issue) is a most urgent and patriotic duty". Presumably he means that we should, as an Institution, forego our tax exempt status. This would be a most courageous act indeed and would change the nature of the institute beyond recognition. However, we would then be free as an institution to comment on all issues and engage in such political activity as we see fit. I assume we are not being instructed to ignore the law when some members of the faculty feel strongly about an issue. If we are to set ourselves above the law, even for the most lofty of purposes, we join the company of such organizations as the Klu Klux Klan who ignore the law for what they see as most serious and important moral issues.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to separate political action by the university from moral considerations. While all moral issues are not necessarily political, all political issues are also moral ones. The action of our

faculty in taking a political stand, even for the most compelling moral reasons, is one more step and a very large one toward the politicization of the university.

Prof. Weisenbaum incorrectly cites the example of the German universities. He states that "in their time of crisis (they) kept their silence in order to preserve their prerogatives". This may be a comforting view of the National Socialist Era; it is to say the least naive. Far from being apolitical islands, the German universities were, in fact, completely political and completely Nazi. This is well documented in a study covering the year 1936 (The German Universities and National Socialism) by Edward Hartshorn who concluded that "the institutions of higher learning have been brought thoroughly into line with the sentiments and ambitions of the national government". Jews were removed from faculties for political reasons. Curricula were changed to teach, for example, German physics rather than Jewish physics for political reasons. Most horrifying of all, the intellectual foundations for the racial extermination came from the universities as documented by Max Weinreich in "Hitler's Professors".

The history of the German universities in the 1930's does indeed contain a lesson. They represent an extreme example of politicized universities. Perhaps

when we go down this road we will be fortunate and merely achieve the fun, games and total demoralization of Latin American universities where everyone is political and university policy is dictated at the whim of the political forces in power.

When universities became political they shortly became the servants of political forces from outside the campus. The reason is obvious. As agents of political power, the universities are feeble in the extreme. Yet they are completely dependent for support upon real political and economic bases in the society. In any confrontation with naked political and economic power from without, the universities lose every time. Ours are fragile institutions and can survive only with a mutually accepted principle that, whatever the political activities of their members, the universities themselves must remain apolitical. We can choose to have politics in the university but as history amply demonstrates, we cannot choose the politics we get.

It is useful to ponder the significance of recent events. Franklin Long was removed from consideration as the head of the National Science Foundation for purely political reasons. Many of the cries of anguish over "politics in science" came from the same people who had supported a political "research strike" and

who now push for universities taking political stands. We are in a poor position to protest the politicization of scholarship since we are engaged in the same activity.

It is the right and duty of members of our society to dissent from and protest public policy which they disapprove. Converting the university into a vehicle of protest may seem an easy way of discharging that responsibility. It is certainly more convenient than political action off the campus. The price we will pay by subverting the principle of political independence is incalculable.

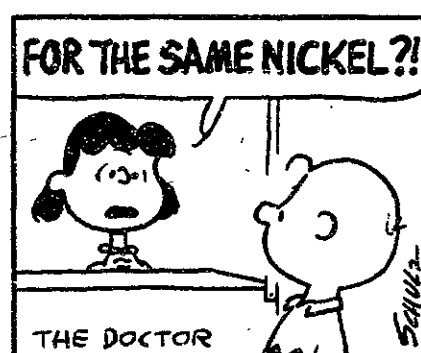
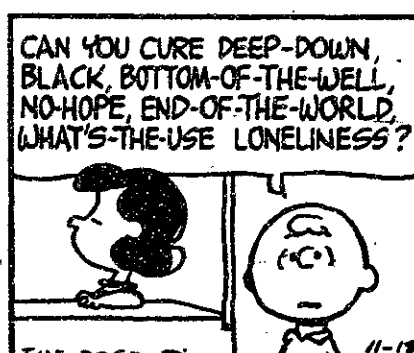
Sheldon Penman, Ph.D.  
Assoc. Prof. in Biology

## Not YAF

To the Editor:

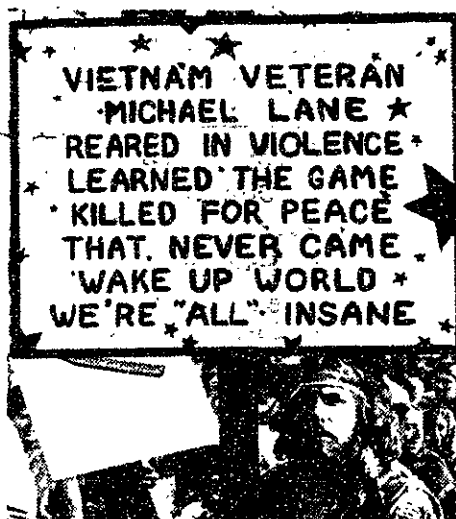
In the Friday, November 7 issue of *The Tech* it was reported that a YAF member attacked several NAC members with a chemical weapon. If this person was, in fact, a YAF member, he did not belong to MIT-YAF. We feel that *The Tech* showed poor judgment in publishing such an obvious misrepresentation of the truth. In the future, we trust, *The Tech* will refrain from publishing any such damaging statements which they cannot substantiate.

Gary McGrath  
Secretary, MIT-YAF





# "Welcome to Washington, DC":



## Grass, gas, and broken glass; Armies of the Night return

By Bruce Schwartz

**MOBILIZATION ORDER/** unsecret/urgent: Armies of the Night, U.S. Fifth Column, Woodstock Nation: Proceed via all possible routes D.C. 15 November 1969. March from Capitol Hill toward White House, turn left 15th St. to Wash. Monument. There send up noise that will rock the White House. End the War Now. Peace. P.S. (but not too loud) Power to the People

### FRIDAY

They say a quarter million but they will never know. I saw the Boston Common and I say half a meg. Via plane, via train, via automobile and bus. Some alone, most in groups; most arranged but a few on the strength of their thumbs. Mostly young but some were older, some were old. Mostly hairy but some appeared faithful children of the Protestant Ethic. They came, filling the planes and clogging the roads, converged from the North, the South and the West; like filings to a magnet, in the rain and the bonechill cold of the Ides November. Came in answer to a clarion sounded by effete snobs so many wipers before, clarion unheard these many years by ears of two Presidents' unfulfilled promises. Came out of frustration, anger, weariness; compelled to the Capitol by grief and righteous indignation, by love of country and hate of it. For a half million reasons they came.

The Woodstock Nation: the counterculture moved south this day on wheels, holding communal meetings along the unlikely unfriendly asphalt of the Jersey Turnpike. Bumper Sticker greeted bumpsticker as passengers flashes the V-sign, some the clenched fist, across the rushing air between windows. Smile, laugh. We are together. Hi, haven't seen you since summer. We are the VW's and the old model Chevys and the Cadillacs don't like us. Flash one a V-sign. He scowls. Flash him a fist. He flashes a finger. This, I guess, is polarization. Is it wise we all go to Washington? They could lay a bomb in and get us all at... Paranoia. No, it isn't that yet, despite Agnew talking eliminating rotten apples and the laws

going on the books for "preventive detention" and Bobby Seale getting four for contempt. (Is it true they never tore down the WWII Nisei detention camps?) Not yet despite Weatherman stirring the caldron of revolution. Not yet. But permit me to worry.

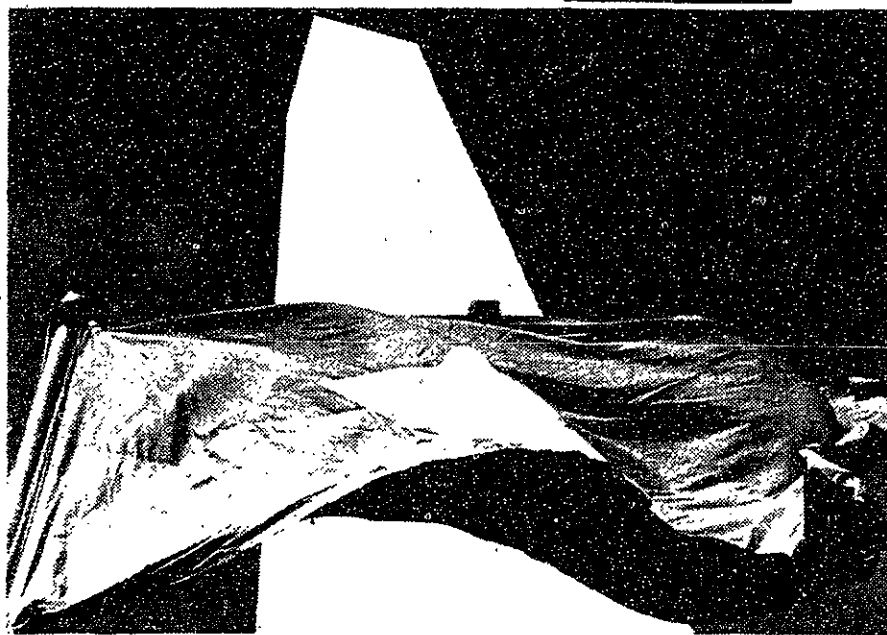
Because we are sharing the roads with the silent majority. They are there, and they are yet unknown. You feel sometimes they are on Dicky's side. But you don't yet know.

The City: Planned by L'Enfant the fit capital of a mighty nation; built by ambition and power run a little wild into the pompous hub of an Empire dwarfing Rome. Indeed Washington in the Federal district is reminiscent of the Imperial City. Ionic and Corinthian colonnades, Parthenon-like friezes, statues everywhere, marble and stone everywhere, taxpayers' dollars fueling electric lights so that the trappings of power and glory (the phallic Monument its ultimate expression) may be properly displayed. And all larger than life, bigger than a man; scale too great to be human. Such is the shrine of 200 years of democracy gone corporate.

Within the besieged city the police waited: few on the streets but many in the stations. The troops (Wash. Post says 9000) wait: a few MPs at the White House, the rest hidden. Hidden on the upper floors of "abandoned" WWII temporary buildings. Secreted within the Dept. of Commerce. Basemented in the Executive Office Building. Waiting in locations unknown, and there are more, many more, outside the city. The Iron Hand may be here but it has learned since Chicago how radicals are made and though present it wears a velvet glove and is tucked in a discreet pocket.

Within a perimeter of D.C. Transit buses blocking off the White house grounds and the Ellipse, behind police and MP cordons, cuddling with maybe a thousand troops, Nixon waits. We will not know what he is thinking as he sits isolated and besieged as no American President ever before. He makes pretense to business as usual. Returned from Florida and the unprecedented foul-weather launching of Apollo 12 (Scrub-

bed on Wed. due to technical foulups, unscrubbed shortly after, launched in a thunderstorm hit by lightning - don't tell me Nixon didn't pressure them to go - but it didn't work anyway; people want bread and the March was better circus) he will keep a full schedule of appointments, disdaining comment. But as gas drifts down the streets this Friday night, one hopes that he's gotten a taste. Perhaps Nixon sat at his window in the darkness and reflected upon how many troops he would need in November 1970. Perhaps he'll stay in Florida then.



And the Rebels: (as NBC later called them—a TV first!) In the city ahead of the rest, the Yippies anarchic, various RYM SDS factions, including the ever-popular Weathermen and a kindred group styled Pilots (of the revolution. Get it?) and a few just plain hellraisers. Friday night and as I arrive (9 pm) in the city (*The Tech* pig press hoteled at the Hilton, natch, with a disgusting bourgeois lobby trying to look opulent but paper thin walls upstairs) the vanguard of the Revolution is uptown trying to touch off the fires of war. Yippies lead march to serve eviction notice on South Vietnamese embassy; police line falls back. Dupont Circle, gathering place of D.C.'s hippie colony, contains several thousand people, not all demonstrators here. About a thousand, maybe two, march this time. Demonstrators open up with rocks and bottles; police open up with gas. Weathermen flee, smashing store windows. A few

## New political era begins in wake of last big march

By Steve Carhart

The events of the past weekend in Washington and several other recent incidents suggest that the country and the Movement are entering a new and ominous political era.

This country is sick, and it will become sicker because Dr. Nixon has chosen to isolate the alienated tissue rather than cure what ails it. His November 3 speech did not unite the country behind him; it instead made complete his break with the peace movement and reminded the apolitical that he was, indeed, worrying about the war. He may have received tens of thousands of letters supporting

his stance, but hundreds of thousands invested their time and money to go themselves to Washington to renounce that policy. Had the Washington crowd been limited to a hundred thousand or so, it could have been argued that Nixon has bought a few more months. But the quarter million who marched and the quarter million who were turned away because of the time limit on the permit made the biggest rally Washington had ever seen.

Meanwhile, Nixon prepares the machinery of repression. Spiro Agnew is his finger in the wind, sensing how far Nixon can go in acting against the broad base of the Movement by associating it with the more extreme elements.

It was no accident that Agnew lashed out against TV last week, for it is the tube which forces the average American to confront reality, to see the war in his living room as well as the thousands who are trying to do something about it. When people see what is really happening, they might feel obliged to do something about it. Nixon doesn't want that; hence the attempt to discredit the source of people's concern.

How far will the anti-anti-war attempts go? There was some speculation that when it appeared that the Apollo flight would be scrubbed for this weekend, Nixon ordered it to go regardless of the weather to divert attention from the march. Fantasy? Perhaps. But if anything happens to those astronauts, some interesting questions will be asked.

Few students are aware that the McCarthy era began with concern about the "loss" of China. If a situation develops in which we "lose" Vietnam, it is likely that there will be a new witch-hunt, perhaps with Agnew as the chief hunter. Some of the obvious "witches" are on this campus and are already discussing this probability.

Some sanguine observers say that the French withdrawal from Indochina did not result in such hysteria. However, one must keep in mind that France does not suffer from the US anti-communist psychosis, perhaps because of its large Communist Party which participates routine-

(Please turn to page 8)

(Please turn to page 7)

# Mobe oversells bus tickets

By Lee Giguere

Over 2000 people were left waiting in Freedom Square Friday night for buses to Washington to participate in the march there. Although as many as half of those may not have bought tickets, the foul-up was due to the New Mobe's troubles in obtaining buses for the trip.

According to Judy Herzfeld of the MIT Moratorium Committee, the problem was that the New Mobe had mismanaged the bus arrangements. A contradictory explanation was given by Linda Sheppard of the New Mobe, who said that the problem was largely due to the bus companies which refused to rent more buses in the later part of the week.

## Buses unavailable

The New Mobe had planned to reserve buses according to their running ticket sales since money was not available to reserve them ahead of time. This was the way in which similar arrangements had been made in the past. This time, however, there were no more buses available for reservation and sales had to be halted.

According to both sources, as

ticket sales rose rapidly on Wednesday, the New Mobe office began to have difficulty keeping up with the sales figures it was receiving from outlying sellers. The decision was then made to end ticket sales at noon on Thursday. Many groups, however, did not stop selling tickets.

## Sales underestimated

According to Miss Herzfeld, the bus arrangements were made by one person at the New Mobe office. She stated that she felt he had incorrectly estimated the number of people who would buy tickets and so did not reserve enough buses. She also felt that he had not delegated his authority properly, and had tried to do too much himself.

Miss Sheppard, on the other hand, felt that blame for the affair could not be placed on one person. The issue that the New Mobe had used in the past had failed this time because it was impossible to get buses during the later part of the week. She suggested that there might have been some sort of pressure on the bus companies not to rent any additional buses to the marchers.

There was little question on

the part of either of them that many more tickets could have been sold. Miss Sheppard estimated that a total of 8000 seats could have been sold if they had been available.

Additional difficulty resulted when the New Mobe learned that the buses had to be paid for with certified checks. The whole set-up nearly collapsed since this was not learned until just before the banks' closing time.

Difficulty also arose in the loading of the buses. SDS, which had planned to load at Harvard Square, decided at the last minute to load at Freedom Square. Since they did not finish until 10:30, the New Mobe was delayed. A second problem resulted from the fact that the police had failed to put no-parking covers on the parking meters in the Square although they had promised several times that they would do this.

When, at the end of the week, it was necessary to turn away people who wanted to buy tickets, many workers were left with a sense of frustration that their efforts had been negated.

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## Announcements.

\* Alpha Phi Omega's annual UMOG contest will be going this week in the lobby of Building 10. All members of the MIT community are urged to vote for the ugly of their choice—one penny a vote—with the proceeds going to CARE. Vote early and vote often.

\* An election to fill recently vacated NRSA positions in the General Assembly will be held from 9 am to 5 pm on Thursday, November 20, at the NRSA, 311 Memorial Drive. All registered undergraduates living off-campus are eligible to vote. For more information, call any member of the NRSA Executive Committee at x2732.

\* There will be a booth in Building 10 today through Thursday for MIT personnel interested in signing a petition to support the closing of the Institute on Friday, November 28.

\* There will be a meeting of the Sierra Club tonight at 8 pm in the Student Center. Gary Soucie will speak on "Politics of Pollution and Preservation."

\* There will be a meeting for all freshmen interested in frosh hockey today in the lobby of the DuPont Athletic Center.

\* The Electrical Engineering Department will hold a steak fry for faculty and students on Thursday at 6 pm in the lobby of Building 13. Tickets can be purchased for \$2 in Building 10 or 4-205.

\* "A Trip to the Moon," a children's lecture by C. Stark Draper, will be given Sunday at 3 pm in 26-100. There will be a \$5.00 contribution to benefit the Tech Nursery School.

\* The 11 am worship at the MIT chapel this Sunday will consist of an experimental service of prayers, readings, and songs written by students and others. The theme is "Time and Its Use in Frantic America, A Christian Perspective."

\* There will be a meeting of the Boston Section of the Institute of Electronic and Electrical Engineers Wednesday at 7 pm in Northeastern's Student Union Ballroom.

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## Politics...

(Continued from page 5)

ly in elections. For the US, however, withdrawal will take on ideological as well as nationalistic overtones which the French did not face.

If withdrawal does not come, however, Nixon's "Silent Majority" will bear further scrutiny. Silence in this case does not signify assent, but merely lack of interest. This group wants to lead its own little lives and prefers, as Agnew has so ominously put it, "order to liberty." Often this outlook will take the operational form of trusting the President on the grounds that he has more information than any citizen. More information, perhaps, but more sense and sensitivity?

There seem to be only two alternatives for which people will work. One of these is militant action. The other is mass political organizing, an option which has become more and more viable since the Moratorium.

It may be too much to hope for, but the communications network and associations formed by the Moratorium Committee could conceivably become the framework for either a new party or a national anti-war lobby.



MP's on guard duty after the fracas at DuPont Circle Saturday night. Tear gas and "pepper gas" were used to clear the area of demonstrators.

Suppose Moratorium representatives contact every Congressional candidate with the offer of thousands of canvassers if he demands withdrawal, and the threat of thousands of canvassers for his opponent if he doesn't?

For this approach to work, of course, takes time, time which many people are not willing to wait. For the militants, the time of symbolic protest is past.

Beyond this, there is always sabotage. Three weeks ago, I speculated in these columns that this would indeed become a common tactic among those who think of themselves as revolutionaries. (Needless to say, this will separate the real revolutionaries from the sheep— you can't plan sabotage in public meetings *a la* NAC!) It was only a matter of time until someone with the kamikaze dedication of the Weathermen but more tactical sense would see that clandestine operations are far more efficient than overt mass actions. Last week in New York, bombs were placed in three skyscrapers— are they omens of things to come?

If the militant factions continue to increase the level of their actions, government action against the Movement will begin

in earnest. Besides sending agents onto campuses and raising levels of intimidation, Nixon will also attempt to identify all anti-war protesters with violent elements and use this as an excuse to suppress dissent. Already Attorney General John Mitchell has denounced the "violent" demonstrations of last weekend.

Nixon is not afraid of student militance; he has enough force at his disposal to quell any disturbance, probably with massive public support. He is afraid of immense repudiation of his war policy, and hopes to muddy the political waters by attracting support on the anti-violence issue.

One of the chants on the Washington march comes to mind: "One two three four, tricky Dick, end the war/ five six seven eight, we don't want a fascist state!" And also, a poster which came into our office with Rosa Luxemburg's picture, explaining how she led the fight for freedom and socialism in post-WW I Germany. It also said that she was killed by reactionary militarists. And I asked myself, who won in Germany, when people preferred order to liberty?

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# 'Business as usual' prevails

(continued from page 5)

up again; splits. Helmets disappear and Weathermen, their shopsmashing done, melt into bystanders, all of them, thousands, fleeing the gas drifting toward the White House. Many people who never expected to taste gas that night. Running south I bumped into the man in the street. He was drunk. "Gas 'em? (cough) I say they oughtta machinegun 'em!" The city wore a wartime face; no one hurt, but it looked like war.

And still they come, pouring in. Buses at midnight discharge bleary passengers in Dupont Circle where the gas lingers; roving bands of freaks and not so freaks search for lodgings and wind up on floors in college buildings. Hotels turn them away. All night bands roam the streets, but most sleep. It is quiet in the citadel. I sleep, briefly.

And still they come, again, these Armies of the Night.

attention from politics, takes the edge of grimness off the crowd. They gather, by state and university, under signs and banners, numbers growing all the time.

Comes the Revolutionaries. Red flags, NLF flags, hundreds of them. RYM SDS from Indiana pushes through the crowd to join RYM SDS from Illinois. The red flaggers, as they always try to do, move toward the front to take over the van of the march. Not quite successfully; MOBE won't let them have it. It's reserved for McGovern and Goodell and Mrs. King, the liberal fronts for the Vietnik, peacenik quite obviously socialist communist leftist radicals that predominate in NEW MOBE. (Weatherman and the Pilots get some satisfaction, though: they keep their pledge not to disrupt the main march but they form into a line across Pennsylvania Avenue, keeping distance in front of them, presenting a solid front of

chanted others such as, "Fuck you, Agnew!"—discreetly omitted from the "pig press", of course. It was a good day for individual expression in signs and slogan. "I am an effete snob" was a very popular theme. (Spiro did his bit to get people to Washington. Maybe John Mitchell will have him indicted in the next Conspiracy case.)

I marched with the Pilots, playing at revolution, shouting the slogans, making the clenched fist sign. Shocking people. It is fun, seeing how they recoil, like walking into a restaurant naked. It is exhibitionism. It is action. It is fun and exhilarating, and probably one reason revolutionaries become revolutionaries. It's exciting.

Most people never got onto Pennsylvania Avenue, which could only accommodate about 50,000 marchers. The rest swarmed down the Mall to the Monument, joining the torrent of Marchers, tightly confined to the street by linked MOBE marshals, at the grounds near 15th St. Then began the rally, alternating in aspect from Be-in to Nuremburg rally. The speeches were dull but the music was good. There were moving moments as people began singing "Give Peace a Chance"; ludicrous moments as Yuppies went running around, human chained, whooping and hollering. NLF flags competed with American flags. Carnival.

Meanwhile, thousands of people took refuge from cold winds in the Smithsonian. Lines on bathrooms got to be two dozen deep. The museum police, like almost all the cops I met, were very courteous, very friendly. (A few cops responded to the V-sign with V's of their own. One threw me the fist. Is SDS infiltrating the pigs?)

The mass rally goes on. In a corner near Constitution Ave. the revolution gathers and heads for the Justice Department early. They encircle it, the Yuppies burn a gavel ("Stop the Trial!"), rocks are thrown, paint, curses. . . gas, gas, gas. John Mitchell and (ha!) Ronald Ziegler, inside, get gas thru a broken window when the wind shifts. The Weathermen go on a very minor rampage again, retreating north and breaking windows. Their most militant action, however, was reserved for their factional enemies in SDS, PL-WSA, whose office at 1907 F St. they attacked Saturday night.

As for the rest of the Armies of the Night, they retreated in an orderly, peaceful (but highly congestive of highways) fashion. Sporadic vandalism continued, but the city was quiet at mid-



Fear gas floats in the air at the Justice Department demonstrations late Saturday afternoon. Previously, windows had been broken, and paint splattered on the walls.

night, and the troops were beginning to leave. Discreetly.

The mood was one of gaily as people left. They had done their thing, marched hard in the cold, felt they had accomplished something. Given vent to their frustrations. Morning would begin to see the results of their efforts. At Dupont Circle, demonstrators again came and were gassed. Nearby, at Mobe HQ, they slept for the first time in days. I slept and awaited the dawning of the first day of the uncertain future.

## SUNDAY

Speeding North again on the highways still filled with returning marchers, the mind roamed freely even if the aching body (from too much walking) and the raspy lungs (too much breathing) didn't. The returns began coming in. John Mitchell claims "the demonstrations weren't peaceful" trying to pin a violent label on an indignant New Mobe. Another Conspiracy case in the offing? For certain there were no more than 7000 people actually involved in the Justice Dept. action by choice.



The Washington Monument above the sea of people at the rally on the Mall.

Mitchell made no note of that. Mobe disavowed any connection with it, as they had before and after the fact.

Up in space an astronaut slipped and said "Tricky Dicky" Spiro Agnew was silent for once, Nixon will be heard from.

And the people who were here, united for the most part against war, against poverty and fear, against a joyless administration beginning to show signs of fascism, against the unspeakable smog near the Jersey Turnpike, this half million and the other millions, are home now. The last great peace march is ended. The biggest, the best ever. There will be no more. If Nixon is not shaken by this, peaceful protest will be shown at last to be ineffectual. The radicals will be vindicated.

Tonight the Weathermen are waiting somewhere for the Revolution. We are the revolution, we who went to Washington. We are the people who will swell the ranks of actions in months to come. We are the revolution unless Nixon acts to change the national priorities, which in a sense would make him the revolution and I can't see that.

More battles in the streets. The Iron Hand will be forced to remove the velvet glove. It will be war.

The nation tonight is divided. Clearly. There are Minute-men, armed, waiting in the wings if they feel the government slack in repressing reds. The Great Silent Majority probably exists. It doesn't love the war but it does respect the Presidency and law n' order and it don't like long hair. If the war goes on in Vietnam the war will begin here at home.

I think. But how many years can we let it go on?

And the wind blows in from the North, blowing the papers in the Washington streets, replacing the hopes of the last great peace march. The future rests with Nixon. It rests uneasy.

Washington photos by Cindy O'Connell, Steve Carhart, Harold Federow, & Alan Goldberg



A group of marchers carrying one of the twelve coffins that led the march down Pennsylvania Avenue last Saturday. The coffins contained the names of war dead.

## SATURDAY

Morning, clear, cold, sunny, beautiful. In the darkness the stately slow solemn candle procession of the March Against Death has ended. The dead's names, like they themselves, are in the coffins. The stage is ready for the March.

8 am and the Armies emerge from a thousand temporary shelters and home on the Mall at 3rd St. With the Capitol as background, Woodstock II (III?) gathers. They come in peace and they are peaceful; come for love and are loving, helping each other—strangers—climb into trees, climb buildings, snap each others photos, bundle for warmth, meet, laugh, talk, neck, drink wine from flasks as at football games. Others smoke joints. It will be like this all day, as they march and on the Mall. The great joy of sheer ingathering of the tribe takes some

NLF flags to the always greedy TV cameras.)

As the Mall fills helicopters appear, conjuring up bad memories of Berkeley; People's Park. Or maybe it's just Nixon come to look (no, it's business as usual at the White House. Maybe it was the FBI up there shooting the faces of 250,000 demonstrators. If as Arlo Guthrie says "they'll git abybody" why not?)

There was a March. Maybe you were there, or maybe you saw it on TV. What can I say, a march is a march. They had come from all over, from every walk of life, and there they were, marching around Washington in the hope that Nixon would see and hear and conclude that America wants out NOW and would bring the troops home. But Nixon sat in the White House listening to his voices of the silent majority.

The radicals chanted their usual slogans. And people



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